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CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION,

AN ADDRESS,

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY R. GILBERT,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

pt. 1829

Catholic Emancipation,

INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE SAFETY OF THE ESTABLISHED
RELIGION, LIBERTY, LAWS, AND PROTESTANT
SUCCESSION, OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

PROTESTANTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOMS:

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE CORONATION OATH; AND THE SPEECH OF HIS LATE ROYAL
HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, ON CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

BY THE

REV. RICHARD WARNER, F.A.S.

HON. MEM. IMP. CÆS. SOC. OF NAT. HIST. MOSCOW; AND OF THE DUTCH
SOC. OF SCIEN. HARLAEM; AND RECTOR OF GREAT CHALFIELD, WILTS.

“ The LAWS of ENGLAND are the BIRTH-RIGHT of the PEOPLE thereof; and all the Kings and Queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm, ought to administer the government of the same, according to the said laws: and all their officers and ministers, ought to serve them respectively, according to the same: and, therefore, all the laws and statutes of this realm, for SECURING the ESTABLISHED RELIGION, and the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of the PEOPLE thereof, and all other laws and statutes of the same now in force, are by his Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, and by authority of the same, ratified and confirmed accordingly.”—STAT. 12 & 13 WILL. III. c. 2.

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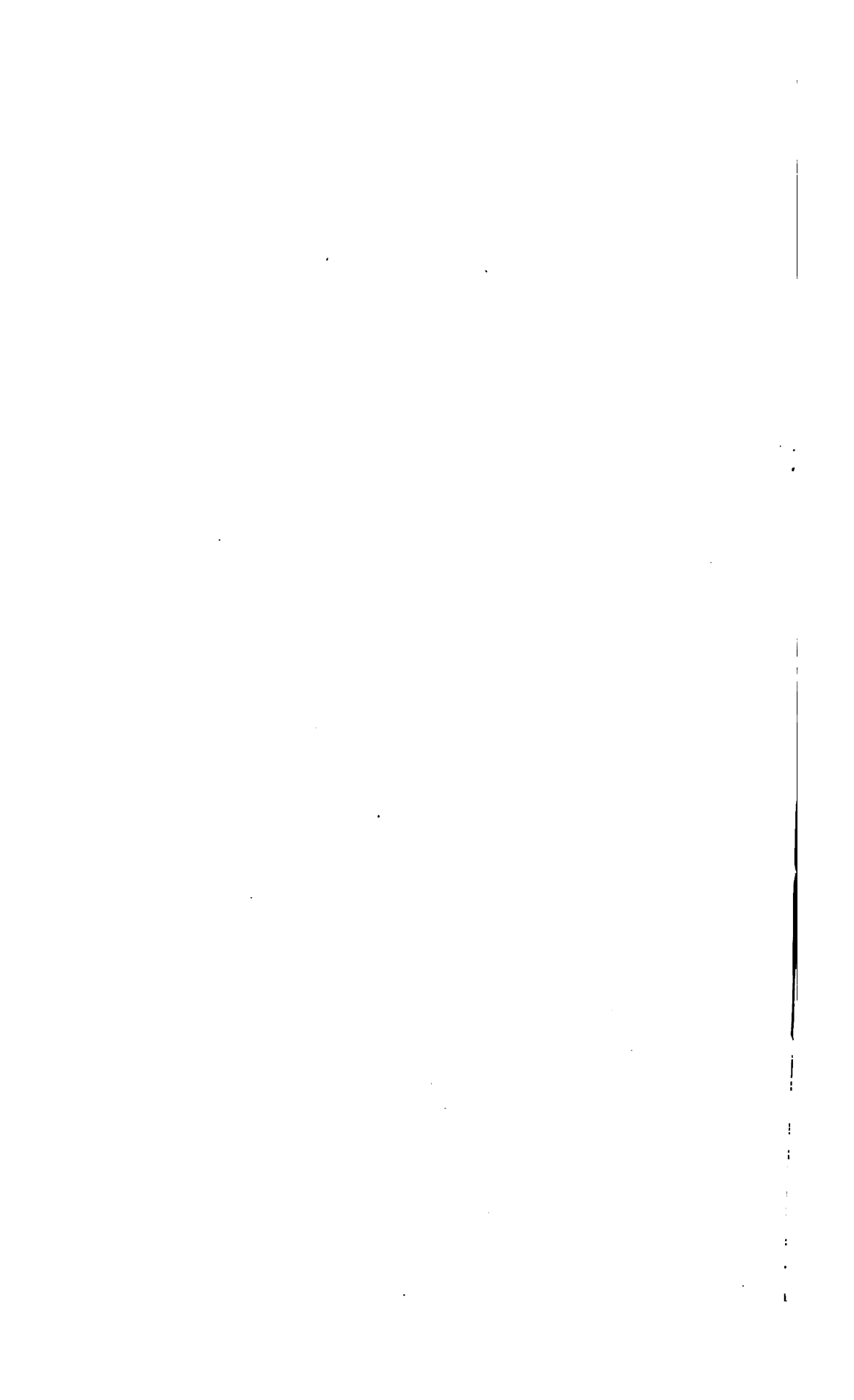
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Catholic Emancipation :

AN ADDRESS,

&c.

PROTESTANTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOMS !

THE period is approaching, for another solemn Parliamentary discussion of the momentous question, which has so long occupied the attention, and interested the feelings, of the British public, with an intensity equal to its importance—the question of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

That the *advocates* for the adoption of this measure, (independently of the Catholics themselves) have increased ; and the *opponents* to it diminished, in number, since the last prorogation of Parliament, will not admit of a doubt : for, many of its former adversaries, alarmed by the state of Ireland ; or, satisfied by the assurances of the expecting party ; or, cajoled

by its demagogues ; or, wearied with the continuance of the contest, have either actually *changed* their opinion on the subject ; or, sunk into such a fatal *indifference* respecting it, as renders them reckless of expressing those sentiments, which they really entertain.

With regard to the *former* class of these British Protestants, we can only marvel, that the events of the few last years ; and the recent proceedings of the Roman Catholics themselves ; have not, incalculably multiplied, rather than altogether obliterated, their fears, of a grant of extended political power, to the adherents to the PAPAL CHURCH : and, as respects the *latter* class, while we rouse them from their slumber, in the words of the poet,

Awake ! arise ! or be for ever fallen !

we would solemnly urge them, by every consideration—of patriotism and public duty : of love for the constitution, and veneration for its Church establishment : of loyalty to our Protestant dynasty, and respect for our equal laws ; to exercise, once more, their powers of reasoning, and right of expressing their thoughts, on the subject of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION ; and again, as heretofore, to deprecate and oppose it, by all

those **LEGAL** means, which the statute-book of England has entrusted to their hands.

But, notwithstanding the tergiversation of some, and the apathy of others, among us, (not less surprising than deplorable) yet, it may still be asserted, with the most strict regard to truth; that, a *vast majority* of the Protestant population of the United Kingdoms, remain firm and unshaken, in those sentiments, with regard to the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics, which they have ever held, since the first stirring of this great national question: and that they consider, at this moment, any concession to the claims of this formidable body, as a measure equally unwise, unsafe, and inefficient in the *present*, and pregnant with *future* ruin, to the **BRITISH CONSTITUTION** in **CHURCH** and **STATE**.

That a **PROTESTANT LEGISLATURE** would feel it both a duty and a pleasure, to be guided in its decision of this awful question, by the reasonable wishes, and well-grounded fears, of a manifest majority of its **PROTESTANT SUBJECTS**, may fairly be supposed; provided, that this almost universal desire and alarm, could be fully and clearly submitted to its solemn consideration. Most happily for the safety of our excellent form of government, as settled at the **GLORIOUS**

REVOLUTION ; and for the security of the British subject, in the enjoyment of all those blessings and liberties, which were then guaranteed to him ; the LAW of the LAND has itself pointed to a method, at once orderly and respectful, but energetic and influential ; by which, under wise regulations, the people of these realms, may submit to the government, their well-advised sentiments, on any intended legislative measure, which shall appear to affect, either immediately or remotely, public liberty, or public happiness. You will, probably, have anticipated me, when I say, that the method to which I allude, is POPULAR PETITION : a privilege inherent in British subjects ; to be exercised by them, on all proper occasions ; “ for the better securing to them” (as Blackstone observes) “ their RELIGION, LAWS, and LIBERTIES ; which the statute-law declares to be the BIRTH-RIGHT of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.”

Invaluable, however, as this popular right may justly be considered ; and efficaciously as it has occasionally proved to be, when wisely and legitimately resorted to ; yet, its exercise is not unattended with inconvenience. To convey a clear view of the merits of each side of a controverted political question, to the popular mind, is, in itself, a difficult thing : and to

collect the well-considered sentiments of individuals on the agitated subject, seems to be a point, even less easily ensured. *Public* or *county meetings* have, in these cases, been usually adopted : but, obviously, without affording any certain prospect, of answering the ends for which they were called. They are good, indeed, as public manifestations of that *sensitive-ness*, which it is highly honourable in a free people to feel and express, for the maintenance of their constitutional and legal rights ; but, their character can never be sufficiently regular and deliberative, for the mature discussion, of any point of vital importance, to the safety or liberty of the nation. They are always noisy and confused : and not unfrequently, disorderly and riotous. On most occasions, *they* who are best qualified to judge calmly, and speak wisely, find no opportunity of being heard : while the minds of the majority of the assembly, are, too often, borne away, by the rude roar of the factious partizan, or the sly sophistry of the political intriguer.

In a case, therefore, so weighty as the one of which we are now speaking ; and at a crisis so awful as the present ; it would seem to be highly desirable, to have recourse to *some other mode*, than the generally uncertain and ineffi-

cient one of public meetings, for ascertaining, and transmitting to Parliament, the sentiments and feelings of the PROTESTANT POPULATION of our country, respecting that formidable change in the law of the land, now under contemplation—a change, which, if carried into execution, would, it may be feared, sap the foundation of our government in Church and State; and lay an axe to the root of those grand principles of civil and religious liberty, whose establishment freed our forefathers from the bigotry and tyranny of the STUARTS; and placed the illustrious house of HANOVER, on the throne of the freest and greatest nation in the world.

It may be reckoned fortunate for the country, that *such a mode* of obtaining this desirable object, is, at this moment, in operation in one of our western counties: a plan suggested and adopted, by a vigilant prelate throughout his diocese: which promises to ensure, in a quiet, certain, and perfectly legal way, the deliberate, and well-weighed suffrage, on the question of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, of every individual within the district, who has a stake in society, and feels an interest, in the preservation of the integrity of our present form of government. The proceedings, as far as they have hitherto advanced, have been these. An

invitation from the Archdeacons of the diocese, has convened together the Rural Deans in their respective archdeaconries. In these meetings, a short, but emphatic form of PETITION to PARLIAMENT, against the measure in question, has been resolved on. A similar invitation has then been issued by the Rural Deans, to the Parochial Clergy within their different Rural Deaneries. By these assemblies, the form of the Petition has been discussed, adopted, or modified, as the case might be. Every clergyman has then received a copy of it; conveyed it to his parish; deposited it in a place easy of access to all his parishioners; and notified to them, that it was open for the signature of all those, who should feel an inclination, to put their hands to such an intimation of dissent to CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

That this example will be followed in other dioceses, and a plan so grave and dignified, be generally acted on, through the country, as soon as it is generally known, may, I should hope, be reasonably anticipated. Some little time, however, must necessarily elapse, before its universal adoption; and it would seem to be far from an useless application of the interval, to prepare the mind of the PROTESTANT PUBLIC, for a readiness to avail themselves of

such an opportunity, of expressing their reluctance to the removal of Catholic disabilities; by laying before them, clearly and plainly, the *reasons* which should induce them to embrace it.

To this object, the following pages are devoted; in which it is proposed, to exhibit, in a series of PROPOSITIONS, these several points—the nature of the DISABILITIES, or RESTRICTIONS, of which the Roman Catholics complain—the PRINCIPLES upon which they demand relief—an exposition of the MISAPPLICATION of these principles to *their* case—the REASONS why such a demand should not be granted—the CAUSES which would render any PARTIAL ACCOMMODATION to their demand, injurious to the state; and any SECURITIES conceded on their part, no sufficient guarantee for its eventual safety.

The APPENDIX contains two important documents. 1st. The CORONATION OATH, and form of administering it: “the sacred pledge,” (as I have said on another occasion *,) “which fixes our august sovereign, legally and constitutionally, on the throne of his PROTESTANT ANCESTORS; and roots him deeply and firmly, in the

* “What must I do to be saved? or, Pulpit Instruction, “according to the Scriptures,” p. 37. Rivingtons, St. Paul’s Church-Yard: 24th December, 1828.

hearts of his enlightened people ;"—a guarantee of our religious and political liberty, that should be as familiar as his spelling-book, to every British subject. And, 2nd, the **SPEECH** of his late lamented Royal Highness, the **DUKE of YORK**, in the House of Lords, on the Catholic question; a speech that ought to be written, "as with a graver," on every Briton's heart: a speech, valuable on many accounts; but chiefly so, as echoing the sentiments of his departed **ROYAL FATHER**, and of almost every branch of our revered and illustrious **ROYAL FAMILY**.

Into the language of my propositions, I trust, that the deep feeling with which I wrote them, has introduced nothing, unbecoming the charity of a Christian, or, the courtesy of a gentleman. Of the Roman Catholic **NOBILITY** and **GENTRY** of these realms, I think, and would always speak, with high esteem: for I cannot but respect the motives of conscientious men, when their sincerity is evidenced, at the expense of a sacrifice of temporal interest: nor can I do otherwise than admire that honour, gallantry, and loyalty, which full often have been "weighed in the balance," and seldom "found wanting."

Of the **LOWER CLASSES** of the Papists in Ireland, I think with the sincerest pity and com-

passion: as ground to the earth, or stripped to the skin, by local oppressions and exactions: as deluded and infuriated, by interested factious leaders; and blinded and brutified by an ignorant and bigotted clergy.

Were I to speak of the Papal PRIESTHOOD, indeed, I should only express the convictions of most minds, which are not altogether unenlightened; that, for the greater part, (God forbid! that I should believe without exceptions) it is their constant object (and they attain it) to hold the consciences of the high and low, in a state of degrading vassalage; and to maintain an eternal despotism over their minds, by the influence of a puerile, but appalling superstition: and that they would, one and all, "rejoice and be exceeding glad," to see the Church of Rome, in possession, once more, of its former power and property in Britain: and this land of light, liberty, and reformed religion, again, and for ever, over-run, with

"Cows, hoods, and habits;

"Reliques, beads,

"Indulgences, dispensens, pardons, bulls;

"Eremites and friars,

"White, black, and grey, with all their trumpery."

PROPOSITIONS.

I. The DISABILITIES complained of by the BRITISH ROMAN CATHOLICS, are as follow :—
a ROMAN CATHOLIC cannot, by the existing law of the land, be a KING'S MINISTER : nor a member of the PRIVY COUNCIL : nor a member of either HOUSE of PARLIAMENT : nor JUDGE : nor an ATTORNEY-GENERAL : nor a SOLICITOR-GENERAL : nor a KING'S-COUNSEL : nor a MASTER in CHANCERY : nor a RECORDER : nor a SERJEANT at LAW : nor, consequently, any one of the officers, whose situations require that rank, in the profession of the law : nor an UNDER-SHERIFF : nor a TOWN-CLERK : nor a CLERK of the PEACE : nor a MASTER-EXTRAORDINARY in CHANCERY, (though he may hold a commission for swearing affidavits in the Court of King's Bench :) nor a JUSTICE of the PEACE, in ENGLAND, (in IRELAND he may act as such :) nor, can he be a member of a CORPORATION : nor a CIVILIAN : nor act as a PHYSICIAN, except on sufferance : nor can he, in ENGLAND, vote for a MEMBER of PARLIAMENT, (but in IRELAND he

enjoys the ELECTIVE FRANCHISE). From our UNIVERSITIES, the ROMAN CATHOLICS are necessarily excluded, in consequence of the FORMS, RULES, and OATHS, of those establishments: but, the ARMY and NAVY, including the rank of GENERAL in the former, and that of CAPTAIN in the latter, are open to them.

II. The *grounds* or *principles*, upon which the British Roman Catholics claim EMANCIPATION from these disabilities, are—TOLERATION—NATURAL JUSTICE—POLITICAL RIGHTS—and POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY; or, the TRANQUILLIZATION of IRELAND: but, it is clear to common sense, and will be manifest from the plainest reasoning, that, on neither of these foundations, can their demands be legitimately established.

III. TOLERATION is only another word for SUFFERANCE; and merely means, that LIMITED POLITICAL INDULGENCE, which every state has a right to determine upon as just, and to concede as a favour, to such of its members, as differ in their principles, civil and religious, from those of the State: and who are, consequently, not to be TRUSTED (consistently with the safety and prosperity of the State) with the same equal participation of POLITICAL POWER,

which its other members enjoy. This TOLERATION (including the security of person and property; the enjoyment of every civil right, connected with each; and the exercise of religious worship,) the English and Irish ROMAN CATHOLICS already possess, in the amplest measure; and to expect, or demand more, while they CONTINUE TO BE PAPISTS, is equally unreasonable and insolent. "All its precautions," (said a wise and good Roman Catholic, Lord Digby, in the debate on the TEST ACT, "for preventing dangers that may happen by Popish recusants,") "all its precautions are reduced to this one intent, natural to all societies of men; OF HINDERING A LESSER OPPOSITE PARTY FROM GROWING TOO STRONG, FOR THE GREATER OR MORE CONSIDERABLE ONE. And, in this just way of PREVENTION, is not the moderation of the House of Commons to be admired, that they have restrained it to this sole point, of debarring their adversaries from offices and places, and from accessions to wealth, by favours from the sovereign? and, after all, my lords, how few do these sharp trials, and tests of this act, regard! Only such Roman Catholics, as would fain hold offices and places, at the price of hypocrisy, and dissimulation of their true sentiments in religion!" We conclude, there-

fore, that the PRINCIPLES upon which all TOLERATION is founded, would be violated and set at naught; and all its wise and cautious ends and purposes, entirely defeated, if EMANCIPATION from existing DISABILITIES, or an EXTENSION of POLITICAL RIGHTS, were granted to "a lesser opposite party" in the state, which, by means of this additional power, might become "too strong for the greater, or more considerable one."

IV. NATURAL JUSTICE demands, that every member of the state, should be permitted to worship God as his conscience may direct; that he should be protected in the exercise of his religious duties, provided they be performed in peaceableness and decency: that the places for the solemnization of them should be under the guardianship of the law; and that he should not be persecuted for his religious opinions. All these inherent rights are guaranteed to the BRITISH ROMAN CATHOLICS by the statute law of the realm: but it would be neither *wise* nor *safe*, (and, consequently, not JUST to the WHOLE,) for the State to advance beyond this indulgence: or, in other words, for the GREATER PARTY to allow to the LESSER one, the exercise of those PUBLIC RELIGIOUS FORMS, which have nothing of the essence of religion in them; (such as

processions of monks and nuns ; public exhibitions of the host and the crucifix ; the popular display of sham miracles, and other ceremonies, and devices of the Papistical Church) and by which the vulgar might be deluded ; the laborious rendered idle ; the pious offended ; the wise disgusted ; and the common and necessary business of the public, suspended or impeded.

V. **POLITICAL RIGHTS** are things of human contrivance, for the **FORMATION** of the **BODY POLITIC** ; and for the **PRESERVATION** of it, in order, peace, and safety. Of these **RIGHTS**, the **STATE**, (or, " the larger and stronger party ") is the dispenser and guardian ; and bound to award them, equally and impartially, to all its members ; provided they possess those **REQUISITES**, which the State has determined, to be the necessary **QUALIFICATIONS** for their enjoyment. The chief of these **POLITICAL RIGHTS**, (as far as regards our own country) are the holding of certain **OFFICES** of **TRUST** and **POWER** ; and the filling a **SEAT** in either **HOUSE** of **PARLIAMENT**. Now, so far from **CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION** being necessary, for the purpose of placing **ALL BRITISH SUBJECTS**, upon a fair and equal footing, with respect to these two important **POLITICAL RIGHTS** ; the fact is, that at

this moment, the same REQUISITES, for obtaining official or senatorial dignity, are necessary, on the part of the PROTESTANT, as of the ROMAN CATHOLIC subject.—A certain rank in life, or, exaltation to the Peerage, is REQUIRED by the State, as a QUALIFICATION for a SEAT in the HOUSE of LORDS : and, a certain real property ; a certain civil character ; and a legal election ; for a seat in the HOUSE of COMMONS ; and without these, no Protestant is eligible to either : but, in both cases, an OATH of the KING'S SUPREMACY ; and of UNDIVIDED ALLEGIANCE to him, is indispensable, by the statutes of the realm. If, therefore, the ROMAN CATHOLIC will take these OATHS ; and if he possess the REQUISITE QUALIFICATIONS ; he is, as the law *now* stands, as much entitled as the PROTESTANT subject, to a seat, (as the case may be) in either HOUSE of PARLIAMENT ; and to any office of POLITICAL TRUST or POWER.

VI. The RESTORATION of TRANQUILLITY in IRELAND, as another foundation of the ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS, is equally unsubstantial, with those which we have already examined. We refer to former experience, and to the declarations of existing authorized advocates of the measure, to prove ; that the hope of such a result, from concession to the demands of the

claimants, would be fallacious. In the year 1792, the Irish Roman Catholics petitioned for the restoration of the ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, and issued a declaration, which concluded in these emphatic terms: "If we shall be admitted into any SHARE of the CONSTITUTION, by being restored to the right of ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to DISTURB OR WEAKEN the establishment of the PROTESTANT RELIGION, or PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT of this country!" Concessions were made by PARLIAMENT; but, how well this solemn pledge was kept by the IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS; and how little these concessions availed to TRANQUILLIZE IRELAND; let twenty-seven years of the agitated EMANCIPATION QUESTION: the circumstances of the CLARE ELECTION; and the PRESENT CONDITION of that unhappy island, bear testimony! "It is distinctly proved" (it is Mr. George Dawson who speaks, in 1825) "that the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION has assumed a form inconsistent with the principles of the constitution: that it usurps the functions of government: that it exasperates party hatred: that it interferes with the administration of justice: that it calumniates the character of every respectable man in the country: that it paralyzes

the magistracy : that it keeps the people, through the instrumentality of the Priests, in a state of servile vassalage, ready to obey their orders, however dangerous : and that it levies a tax upon the people, to be converted to their own mischievous purposes, no matter what they are." A FREE TRADE was to have produced the magical effect, of hushing into peace the tumults of our Sister Isle : a FREE TRADE was granted ; and, in a short time, the spirit of dissatisfaction, and disturbance, again blazed forth, with as much fury as before. Such is the TRANQUILLITY which former concessions have bestowed upon Ireland ! That an attention to the PRESENT DEMANDS of the ROMAN CATHOLICS, would not be attended with more satisfactory or tranquillizing results, we have an authority for asserting, which they themselves will not impeach—the authority of their own prelatial organ, DR. DOYLE. "Catholic emancipation," observes this Catholic dignitary, "WILL NOT REMEDY the evils of the TYTHE SYSTEM : it will not ALLAY THE FERVOUR OF RELIGIOUS ZEAL ; the perpetual clashing of two churches, one elevated ; the other fallen ; both high-minded, perhaps, intolerant : it will not check the RANCOROUS ANIMOSITIES, *with which* DIFFERENT SECTS ASSAIL EACH OTHER. It

will not remove all suspicion of PARTIALITY in the GOVERNMENT, were Antoninus himself the viceroy: it will not create that SYMPATHY between the DIFFERENT ORDERS OF THE STATE, which is ever mainly DEPENDENT ON RELIGION. Withal, CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION is a great measure; and of itself, would not only effect much, but OPEN A PASSAGE TO ULTERIOR MEASURES, which a provident legislature could without difficulty effect." So, that instead of giving PEACE to IRELAND, and security to the BRITISH GOVERNMENT; CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION would only let slip the dogs of rapine, spoliation, and destruction, against the PROTESTANTS, of the ONE; and inoculate the principle of DISSOLUTION into the trunk of the OTHER. For, the page of History, and the common workings of human nature, unite to assure us; that these ULTERIOR MEASURES, would be nothing more nor less; than the resumption of ALL that PROPERTY, and all that POWER, which the PAPAL CHURCH heretofore held and exercised, within the British realms: "The words of his mouth, were softer than butter, having *war* in his heart: his words were smoother than oil; and yet be they very swords." No! the TRANQUILLIZATION of IRELAND must be effected by far DIFFERENT MEASURES than that of CATHOLIC

EMANCIPATION ! The only means of humanizing and enlightening that ill-fated land, “for which,” as Burke emphatically said, “God has done so much, and man so little;” are, to compel, by an irresistible tax, **ABSENTEES** to return to the land of their fathers—to induce the great **IRISH PROPRIETORS**, to **RESIDE** upon the estates, from which they derive their means of display—to encourage **AGRICULTURE**, internal **TRADE**, and foreign **COMMERCE**—to alter the present system of **LEASING PROPERTY**; and to abolish the class of **MIDDLE TENANTRY**—to give to the **POOR**, a plain, practical, **PROTESTANT EDUCATION**; and, to endeavour to free them, by every possible means, from the base **THRALDOM**, in which their minds, consciences, and souls, are at present chained, by their **POPISH PRIESTS !**

VII. The argument has often been urged, by the **BRITISH ROMAN CATHOLICS** and their friends, in behalf of **EMANCIPATION**, that, on the **CONTINENT**; neither in **Russia**, **Austria**, or **Hanover**, for instance, is the same jealousy entertained as in this country, of the subject, who holds different religious opinions from those of the state; but, that he is impartially admitted to every honourable and influential

political employment. There is, however, this IMMENSE DIFFERENCE between the two cases. The Governments above mentioned, are not REPRESENTATIVE in their respective forms : the offices conferred on their favoured subjects, do not invest them with any LEGISLATIVE POWER ; their religious tenets cannot affect the LAWS or INSTITUTIONS ; endanger the FAITH ; or alter the POLITICAL FRAME, of the States, of which they are the subjects. Far otherwise would be the situation of the BRITISH ROMAN CATHOLIC, if admitted to the PERFECT DENIZENSHIP, which he now demands. Concede to him this claim, and the door to indefinite LEGISLATIVE and POLITICAL power, is at once thrown open to his ambition. He may then assist, and be influential, in altering, abrogating, or making, the LAWS of the LAND. He *may* become a LEGISLATOR ; a JUDGE ; a PRIVY COUNSELLOR ; the KEEPER of the ROYAL CONSCIENCE ; and, certainly, under *possible* circumstances, (and beneath the shadow of that cloud of " thick darkness," with which POPERY *might*, in time, overspread this Protestant land,) he may *creep* into the HIGHEST OFFICE, recognized by our existing form of government.

VIII. Nor, is the argument stronger in fa-

YOUR of CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, which is grounded upon the POLITICAL FAVOURS lately conceded, to the DISSENTERS of our country. Between THEM and the PAPISTS, there is no approximation to a resemblance; and, consequently, the rule which applies to the one, will not meet the case of the other. The DISSENTERS are PROTESTANTS—they acknowledge no DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE—they spurn the idea of the SUPREMACY of a FOREIGN POTENTATE—they, for the most part, are FRIENDS to OUR EXISTING FORM of GOVERNMENT, in CHURCH and STATE; because they are satisfied, that with its preservation, all their own dearest interests are strictly identified—they are the asserters, of RELIGIOUS and CIVIL LIBERTY; of the FREE CIRCULATION of the SCRIPTURES; and of the DIFFUSION of LIBERAL KNOWLEDGE—and would, willingly, spill the last drop of their blood, in defence of the PROTESTANT FAITH, and of the great cause of RATIONAL FREEDOM.

IX. Having shewn how weak and unsubstantial, are all the GROUNDS and PRINCIPLES, upon which the ROMAN CATHOLICS demand EMANCIPATION; it remains, that we should clearly unfold the REASONS, why this demand should not be granted. We say, then, that, were it con-

ceded, *that* rule of the EQUALIZATION of POLITICAL RIGHTS, on which the IRISH PAPISTS bottom their cause, would be grossly infringed : inasmuch as manifest PARTIALITY would *then* be displayed towards THEM ; and palpable INJUSTICE inflicted upon the PROTESTANT MEMBERS of the State : for the FORMER would enjoy a PRIVILEGE from which the LATTER would be debarred ; and the PROTESTANT would be exposed to DANGER, which the ROMAN CATHOLIC would not be liable to. It is an universally-notorious, acknowledged, and fundamental principle of the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH and FAITH, that they are INFALLIBLE ; UNALTERED ; and UNALTERABLE. Like “ the ark of the Lord,” not to be touched, except by the hand of the PRIEST ; nor subjected to the cognizance, regulation, or check, of any mortal power, save that of a GENERAL COUNCIL, with the POPE at its head ; they would set at nought, the authority of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, as LEGISLATORS, in any matters which pertained to their own HIERARCHY : while, at the same time, the MEMBERS of that CHURCH, and the PROFESSORS of that FAITH, being admitted to SENATORIAL POWER, would, as a matter of course, LEGISLATE for OUR REFORMED RELIGION and ESTABLISHED CHURCH ; which they must naturally,

and conscientiously, wish to cripple and destroy, as they hold and declare them both, to be APOSTATE, CORRUPT, and DAMNABLE.

X. With the MERELY SPIRITUAL doctrines of the Papist, the Protestants of this empire have no right to interfere: "to his own Master he standeth or falleth." And Christian charity will hope and believe, that for the doctrinal errors of the mistaken, but conscientious members of every Christian community, the great "Father of Lights" will make a merciful allowance. The Papist, therefore, may deify his wafer: worship his image: adore his Madonna: pray to his Saints; and people his Purgatory, without disturbance, and without suspicion: but, when, in the same breath, he demands an EQUALITY of POLITICAL RIGHTS in the STATE, and professes RELIGIOUS TENETS, not only DANGEROUS to the security of that STATE, but SUBVERSIVE of the very PRINCIPLES on which it is founded, his FAITH then becomes alarming, and his CLAIM is insolent: and it is the part of every government, which is awake and in its sober senses, not to give POLITICAL IMPORTANCE to the ONE, by yielding to the OTHER. Every CONSCIENTIOUS ROMAN CATHOLIC believes and will avow, that the POPE is

“Christ’s Vicar upon earth ;” that he is the supreme HEAD of the visible Christian Church ; that he is, in his spiritual character, INFALLIBLE ; and that his official PREROGATIVES, not emanating from human authority, are immutable and imperishable. It is, therefore, utterly impossible for him, *salvá conscientiá*, to take the OATH of SUPREMACY ; one great bulwark of the PROTESTANT FAITH, and of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH in England ; an oath that would award to ANOTHER an awful dignity, which he believes, in his conscience, belongs, by a divine and inherent right, exclusively to the successor of St. Peter. Neither can he, consistently with this TENET of his FAITH, take the OATH of ALLEGIANCE (the pledge of the fidelity of the BRITISH SUBJECT to his lawful PROTESTANT KING) in the plain, honest, and literal sense of the words in which it is couched ; for he must be fully aware, that, should a case occur, in which the interests of “HIS LORD THE POPE, THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, AND THE ROYALTIES OF ST. PETER,” should be opposed to those of his own LEIGE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN, he must, if he value his soul’s salvation, be faithful to the FOREIGN POTENTATE, and violate his oath to his LAWFUL KING—he must “cleave to the one, and despise the other.”

XI. The CHARACTER of the ROMAN CATHOLIC religion always has worn, and still continues to wear, more of a POLITICAL than a SPIRITUAL cast; rather dealing with "things on the earth," than with "things in Heaven:" and, therefore, in considering the PAPISTS as a POLITICAL BODY, we must never lose sight of the PRINCIPLES and DOINGS of their HIERARCHY, which, like the main wheel of a vast machine, gives movement and direction to every, even the least and meanest, member of the complicated piece of workmanship. From the spirit of their CHURCH, the Roman Catholic LAITY receive their POLITICAL tone, temper, and animation; and its influence, wrought into the consciences of the faithful, gives a bias to their opinions, and an impulse to their actions, which will be either reasonable and worthy, or irrational and dangerous, according as the impelling power is either good or evil. It may be worth while, therefore, to consider, shortly, how far the authenticated practices, and the avowed declarations, of the Irish Roman Catholic PRIESTHOOD, hold out a fair prospect, of inspiring into the laity, the spirit of LOYALTY and attachment to our CONSTITUTION in CHURCH and STATE; an enquiry which, we apprehend, will furnish another

**REASON for not conceding CATHOLIC EMANCI-
PATION. The POPE,**

“ High on a throne of royal state,”

though claiming to be infallible, has not the attribute of **UBIQUITY**, and, therefore, manages the business of his distant dependencies, by his **VICARS APOSTOLICAL**, or **BISHOPS**, who are in constant correspondence with Rome, and bound implicitly to obey the directions of his Holiness. Such are the **IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS**, who, before their consecration, take the following **OATH of FEALTY and ALLEGIANCE** to the **POPE**: “ They swear; that they will be faithful and **OBEDIENT** to **St. Peter the Apostle**, and to the **HOLY ROMAN CHURCH**, and to their **LORD the POPE**, and to his successors; and that they will not knowingly **REVEAL** to any, to their prejudice, the **COUNSELS** with which they may be entrusted by themselves, their messenger, or their letters. They swear; that they will help to defend and keep the **ROMAN PAPACY**, and the **ROYALTIES** of **St. PETER**, against all men. They swear; that they will endeavour to preserve, defend, **INCREASE**, and **ADVANCE**, the **RIGHTS, HONOURS, PRIVILEGES**, and **AUTHORITY** of the **Holy Roman Church**, and

of THEIR LORD the POPE, and of his foresaid successors; that they will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty in which shall be plotted, against their said Lord, and the said Roman Church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power; and that, if they know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, they will hinder it to their power, and signify it, so soon as they can, to their said Lord. They swear; that they will OBSERVE with all their might, and CAUSE to be OBSERVED by OTHERS, the rules of the holy Fathers, the apostolic DECREES, ORDINANCES, OR DISPOSALS, RESERVATIONS, PROVISIONS, and MANDATES. They engage to VISIT Rome in PERSON every ten years; there to give an account of their pastoral office to their LORD the POPE, and humbly to receive his apostolic COMMANDS; or, if detained themselves by any lawful impediment, they engage to send a messenger fully instructed in their stead." Similar obligations (*mutatis mutandis*) are entered into by every PRIEST to his BISHOP; and notions to the same effect, are instilled into the minds of the LAITY, by every POPISH PAROCHIAL MINISTER, and every domestic CONFESSOR. So that the POPE is virtually, in the conception of the great mass of IRISH PAPISTS, not only

a being above all law himself; but a being whose mandates and ordinances, communicated through the PRIEST, are of paramount authority, to any other obligations that can be imposed upon them.

XII. It is the glory of the REFORMED RELIGION (and of that pure and apostolical branch of it, the CHURCH of ENGLAND) that it draws the doctrines of its faith, and its rules of moral duty, exclusively from the fountain of eternal truth—the WORD of GOD. “The BIBLE,” exclaims Chillingworth, “the BIBLE I say, is the RELIGION of PROTESTANTS;” a volume, which makes no compromise with the vices, the passions, the prejudices, or the follies of mankind; that admits of no subterfuges, evasions, or mental reservations; that teaches clearly and plainly, and enforces, under the most awful sanctions; all the duties imposed upon the reasonable being, in his religious and moral, his individual, social, and political character. To have been duly taught therein, therefore, and to be freely conversant therewith, appears to be the only foundation on which all rational piety can be built; and the only security for man’s due performance of his various religious and moral, his personal, social, and political

obligations. To this fountain, however, of PURE FAITH, and code of PERFECT MORALS, the ROMAN CATHOLIC LAITY are prohibited to approach. To them, the unsophisticated Bible is "a SEALED BOOK," forbidden by the POPE, and withheld by their PRIESTS; for it would at once unfold to them, His "mystery of iniquity;" and display to their view, the degrading slavery in which their own consciences have been so long and so unjustly held. It was only five years ago, that the present POPE promulgated his "ENCYCLICAL LETTER," with the addition of "the PASTORAL INSTRUCTIONS of the ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS;" in which (after declaring that OUT of the ROMAN CATHOLIC PALE there is NO SALVATION) the LAITY are prohibited from possessing or perusing the HOLY SCRIPTURES (save those VERSIONS authorized by the CHURCH of ROME): the BIBLES distributed by all PROTESTANT ASSOCIATIONS are EXECRATED; and the ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS are directed to search after, and possess themselves of, all the copies of such Bibles which any members of their respective flocks may have obtained. The Roman Catholics, indeed, are in possession of certain versions of the Scriptures, but they are all accommodated to the PRETENSIONS of the POPE, and the

AGGRANDIZEMENT of His CHURCH ; and their NOTES breathe the rankest spirit of HATRED and UNCHARITABLENESS, towards the PROTESTANT HERETIC ; teaching any thing rather than SUBORDINATION and LOYALTY to a PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT. In Ireland, they have a NEW PAPIST BIBLE of this description, published, in 1818, under the authority of DR. TROY, a titular Archbishop, and submitted, under certain regulations, to the perusal of the laity. The ANNOTATIONS to this volume are numerous, and declared to be no less binding on the conscience of the Papist, than the DECLARATIONS of the HOLY SCRIPTURES themselves ; inasmuch as they are ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITIONS, stated and expounded by the Pastors of the Rhemish Church. From these ANNOTATIONS, a few passages may be usefully extracted, as they will form another REASON, why a LAITY, whose RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTIONS and MORAL MAXIMS are drawn from such a foul source, should NOT be admitted to any share of LEGISLATIVE or POLITICAL power in a PROTESTANT STATE. “ The Church of God (that is, the Roman Catholic Church), calling the Protestant’s doctrine HERESY, in the worst part that can be, and in the worst sort that ever was, doth RIGHT and most JUSTLY.” “ The new pretended CHURCH

service in ENGLAND, is in SCHISM and in HERESY, and, therefore, not only unprofitable, but DAMNABLE." "The speeches, preaching, and writings of HERETICS (that is, PROTESTANTS) are pestiferous, contagious, and creeping like a canker; therefore CHRISTIAN men must never HEAR their SERMONS NOR READ their BOOKS." "The translators of the ENGLISH PROTESTANT BIBLES, ought to be abhorred to the DEPTH of HELL." "ROMAN CATHOLICS must avoid HERETICS, because their familiarity is contagious and noisome to good men: but in matters of RELIGION, in praying, reading their books, hearing their sermons, presence at their service, partaking of their sacraments, and all other communications with them in spiritual things, it is a GREAT DAMNABLE SIN to deal with them." "Where evil men, be they HERETICS OR OTHER MALEFACTORS, may be punished and suppressed, without disturbance or hazard of the good; they may and ought, by public authority, either SPIRITUAL OR TEMPORAL, to be CHASTIZED OR EXECUTED." "The GOOD (or, in other words, the Papists) must be zealous and stout against HERETICS of what sort soever: remembering the example of holy Elias, that in zeal KILLED 450 false prophets." "When Rome puts HERETICS to DEATH, and ALLOWS

It must be observed, that throughout all these quotations (which are few in comparison with what might have been adduced), the GOOD are intended to designate PAPISTS, and the EVIL and HERETICS apply to PROTESTANTS.

XIII. By the CREED of POPE PIUS IV., which is considered as the authentic EXPOSITION of the tenets of the ROMAN CATHOLIC Church, and to which all the proselytes to that faith, are bound to give their unrestricted and unqualified assent; the DECRETALS of the POPES, and all the MAXIMS and PROPOSITIONS which they contain, are declared to be of INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY, and to be received as such by every true Catholic. What, then, would be the amount of the value of ROMAN CATHOLIC SECURITIES (even of the most solemn, and, apparently substantial description) to a PROTESTANT STATE, if they were given with such MENTAL RESERVATIONS, as the following maxims would suggest? "An OATH is not to be kept which incautiously promises any EVIL THING." "It is not all PROMISES that are to be observed." "Sometimes it is allowable to violate the most SACRED OATH:" (*sacramentum sacrum.*)—Nor, are the writings of the ROMISH DOCTORS and CASUISTS of much inferior authority, with the

PAPISTICAL CLERGY, to that of the bulls and decretals of their Popes ; more especially, the casuistical works of the JESUITS—an order expressly created for the extension and confirmation of PAPAL POWER ; whose members, for two centuries, were the confidential and destructive agents of “ Christ’s Vicar upon earth,” as they styled their master ; and who bottomed all their horrid code of morals, upon the detestable principle, that REBELLION and OPPOSITION in subjects, were not only lawful, but DUTIES, against all kings and princes who were inimical to the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, or disobedient to the POPE. From our own country, this nefarious body of men was banished by a Statute of Elizabeth, which ordained that “ all Jesuits, &c. shall depart out of the Realm.” The order was suppressed in France in 1761 ; and abolished by the Pope in 1773 ; but (Heaven avert the omen !) the plague is again returned ; the Pope is reconciled to the sons of Ignatius Loyola ; one of the order is at this moment the closet CONFESSOR of a NEIGHBOURING KING ; and, still more portentous, because the evil is AT HOME ; the society of JESUITS is actually established in ENGLAND, by the head of the PAPAL CHURCH : it has opened seminaries and sodalities within the BRITISH EMPIRE ;

and is, at this moment, EXERCISING its FUNCTIONS, cautiously, but effectually, at more than one place in our own country. The POISON which the JESUITS infuse into the minds of those whom they instruct or awe, will be best displayed, by half a dozen extracts from some of their most authoritative writers ; though it may be previously observed, that there is not a VICE that can stain human nature, which may not find, either a SANCTION or a PALLIATIVE in their pernicious volumes.—“ It is sometimes allowable to CONCEAL the truth, when called upon to DECLARE it.” “ It is a VENIAL SIN to deliver FALSEHOOD in EVIDENCE.” “ Priests or monks may MURDER a false accuser, who threatens to publish any scandalous crimes, either of them or of their society, if the publication can be prevented no other way ; as when he is just upon the point of spreading his venom, if not killed immediately.” “ No CONFESSOR should refuse, or delay ABSOLUTION, to such as are in constant habits of transgressing the laws of God, of nature, and the Church, though no one sees any hope of amendment.” “ A MARRIED WOMAN may take the liberty to GAME, and for that purpose may STEAL money from her husband.” “ A man may take an OATH, that he has NOT DONE such or such a

thing, though he actually HAS DONE it, by SAYING to HIMSELF, that he did not do it on such a day, or before he was born ; only CONCEALING any similar circumstance, which the words he makes use of will convey no sense to discover ; which is very USEFUL in abundance of cases, and is always extremely JUST, when it is NECESSARY OR PROFITABLE to your HEALTH, WEALTH, OR HONOUR." "It is lawful to KILL the man who says to you, 'you lie,' if there be no other way to correct his insolence." "A JUDGE may take PRESENTS from the parties concerned, who make them either out of friendship or gratitude for the justice that has already been done them ; or to INDUCE them to do it afterwards ; or to INCLINE them to take a particular care of their business ; or, lastly, to ENGAGE them to dispatch it out of hand."—The maxims of these "learned Thebans," which refer to the other sex, and to nameless crimes, are too gross and abominable for transcription. What must we think then, of a CHURCH that can reverence the writings of such DETESTABLE CASUISTS ? or how can we TRUST with an EQUALITY of CIVIL and LEGISLATIVE RIGHTS, a body of people, who are liable to imbibe their morals from such unholy sources ? The "CATHOLIC BISHOPS, the VICARS APOSTOLIC, and their

coadjutors in Great Britain," may publish as many "DECLARATIONS" as they please; but, as long as the BULLS and DECRETALS of their POPES, are considered by them as obligatory; and the axioms of their DOCTORS, CASUISTS, and JESUISTS, regarded as authoritative; equally opposed as they both are, to the revealed LAW of God; the eternal RULES of TRUTH and JUSTICE; and to the SOUND PRINCIPLES of our own LEGAL INSTITUTIONS; we cannot venture to receive such DECLARATIONS, as a sufficient ground or reason for CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. The only CONDITIONS, on which the important boon could be WISELY and SAFELY granted, would be—that the BRITISH ROMAN CATHOLICS renounced their ALLEGIANCE to the POPE, and separated themselves from the COURT of ROME—abjured the suspicious, uncharitable, and persecuting DOCTRINES of their CHURCH—burned the mass of their BULLS and DECRETALS, and the VOLUMES of their JESUISTS; and made a DECLARATION, that they would henceforth look to the PLAIN BIBLE as their sole authority in FAITH and MORALS; and to the LAWS of their COUNTRY, as the best rule of their CIVIL and POLITICAL CONDUCT.

XIV. The present INTELLECTUAL and CIVIL

condition of the ROMAN CATHOLIC world, offers a FURTHER REASON, why an enlightened and free country, like Great Britain, should never voluntarily permit the baneful FOG of PAPISTICAL IGNORANCE and BIGOTRY, to mingle (in any degree) with its own clear POLITICAL atmosphere. The GENIUS of POPERY has ever been opposed to the spirit of PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY, MENTAL IMPROVEMENT, and RATIONAL FREEDOM. Let SPAIN, and PORTUGAL, and FRANCE, and the ROMAN CATHOLIC Priesthood of Ireland, bear testimony to the truth of this assertion! And hear the vast continent of South America declare, that the only barrier to her peace and tranquillity; to the establishment of sober liberty among her nations; and the intellectual improvement of her ingenious population, is the paralyzing influence, the "mace, petrific, cold and dry" of her PAPISTICAL CLERGY. We do not refuse our tribute of gratitude, to those CLOISTERED LABOURS which preserved to us the precious treasures of ancient learning, nor to the PONDEROUS ERUDITION of the BENEDICTINES, which edited and illustrated them; but, we assert, that the PAPISTS have done little or nothing, to forward the human mind in its progress to "the great and good;" to enlarge the sphere of useful practical knowledge; to

strengthen the faculty of ratiocination; or to spread through the world, the LOVE of LETTERS united with the love of FREEDOM and VIRTUE. If the philosophers, metaphysicians, and political economists, on the continent, of the eighteenth century, be mentioned in refutation of this assertion, let it be recollected that they WERE NOT PAPISTS; for, unhappily, they had sought a wretched refuge from the trammels of POKERY, in Atheism or Infidelity. While, on the other hand, the powers of PASCAL's mighty mind were extinguished by its DRIVELLING SUPERSTITION, and the glorious imagination of the half-angelic FENELON withered away, under the BLASTING INFLUENCE of the PAPAL FROWN!

XV. The sagacity of our statesmen, may weary itself in endeavours to discover some MIDDLE PATH; some PARTIAL CONCESSION; which shall at once satisfy the IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS, and guarantee the safety, of the LAWS; LIBERTY; CHURCH; and PROTESTANT-SUCCESSION, of the empire. But, not to say, that HALF MEASURES are never satisfactory to either of the parties on whose behalf they are resorted to—not to deny, that the sagacity of our statesmen is, unquestionably, fully competent to grapple with most political difficulties;

and to provide against public evils of an ORDINARY OCCURRENCE—yet, it would not, perhaps, be too hardy to assert, on the authority of unimpeached HISTORY; long EXPERIENCE; and existing FACTS; that it is utterly out of the reach of man's wisdom, to devise a scheme of extending, IN ANY SHAPE, the POLITICAL RIGHTS of the ROMAN CATHOLICS in these realms, beyond their present wise and mild TOLERATION, without injuring the VITALS of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION! The PAPISTICAL CHURCH is a creature *sui generis*: dissimilar and detached from all around it: acknowledging no charities in common with the great family of man: enduring no equal: spurning all condescension or reciprocity: insatiable to proselyte and enthrall; and, where it cannot capture, ruthless to destroy. It is a PROTEUS—which no chain of finest temper, or most elaborate texture, can bind down to any DEFINITE FORM. It is a VOLCANO—at times, apparently exhausted; but never extinguished: preparing, secretly and silently, in the moment of its deceitful calmness, for the eruption that shall darken with its SMOKE, and consume with its FIRE.

XVI. Should some plausible MODIFICATION, however, of the present existing laws, respect-

ing the ROMAN CATHOLICS, be resorted to; it would still be difficult to conceive, how the CONSCIENCE of our august SOVEREIGN (with respect be it spoken) could be so relieved, from the OBLIGATION of the CORONATION OATH, as to enable him to give his ROYAL ASSENT, to a measure, which, to common minds, would appear to stand in direct opposition to the SPIRIT and LETTER of that solemn and important formulary: for, the PROTESTANT, who has been educated in a contempt or detestation, of the DISPENSING and ABSOLVING power of ROME, could ill bring his mind to believe, that there is any HUMAN AUTHORITY existing, which can ABSOLVE from, or DISPENSE with, the literal fulfilment of a deliberate CORPORAL OATH.

XVII. But, finally—PARLIAMENT, in its legislative omnipotence, may, unquestionably, make CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, or any MODIFICATION of the measure, a part of the LAW of the LAND: and it will then be the DUTY of the SUBJECT, to succumb to its DECISION—BUT, until an Act to that effect shall be inserted in our statute-book, it is the undoubted RIGHT, and appears to be the obvious WISDOM, and the bounden DUTY, of every BRITISH PROTESTANT, to adopt all CONSTITUTIONAL and LEGAL means, of warding off,

“ Archbishop or Bishop : ‘ Will you to your power cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments ? ’—King or Queen : ‘ I will.’

“ Archbishop or Bishop : ‘ Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the PROTESTANT REFORMED RELIGION established by law ? and will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this realm, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do, and shall appertain unto them, or any of them ? ’—King or Queen : ‘ All this I promise to do.’

“ After this, the King or Queen, laying his or her hand upon the Holy Gospels, shall say—‘ The things which I have here before promised, I will keep and perform: SO HELP ME GOD !’ and then shall kiss the book.

“ This is the form of the CORONATION OATH, as it is now prescribed by our laws.—This is, most indisputably, a fundamental and original express contract ; though, doubtless, the duty of protection, is, impliedly, as much incumbent on the Sovereign, before Coronation, as after: in the same manner as allegiance to the King, becomes the duty of the subject, immediately on the descent of the Crown ; before he has taken the Oath of Allegiance, or whether he ever takes it at all. At present, we have only to observe, that in the King’s part of this original contract, are expressed all the duties that a Monarch can owe to his People: viz.—to govern according to law: to execute judgment in mercy: and to MAINTAIN THE ESTABLISHED RELIGION.

And with respect to the latter of these three branches, we may further remark; that, by the Act of Union, 5 Ann, c. 8. two preceding statutes are recited and confirmed; the one of the Parliament of Scotland, the other of the Parliament of England; which enact, the former, that every King at his accession, shall take and subscribe an oath, to preserve the PROTESTANT RELIGION, and PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH GOVERNMENT in SCOTLAND: the latter, that, at his coronation, he shall take and subscribe, a similar oath, to preserve the settlement of the CHURCH of ENGLAND, within England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, and the territories thereunto belonging."

THE SPEECH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE LATE
DUKE OF YORK, ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

" I HOLD in my hand a petition from the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. George, Windsor, praying that no further concession may be made to the Roman Catholics. I am sure that any representation from so learned and respectable a body will be received with the attention which it deserves; and, therefore, I should not have troubled your Lordships with any observations in support of it, if I did not feel, that this was an occasion on which any man may well be permitted to address your Lordships. I do this more readily on the present occasion, because, feeling that I have not the habit of taking part in your

discussions, I will not interrupt the progress of the debate on the Bill to which the petitioners refer, if it should come into this House. It is now twenty-five years since this measure was first brought into discussion. I cannot forget with what events that discussion was at that time connected. It was connected with the most serious illness of one now no more; it was connected with the temporary removal of one of the ablest, wisest, and honestest ministers that this country ever had. From that time, when I gave my first vote on this question, to the present, I have never seen any reason to regret, or to change the line which I then took. I have every year seen more reason to be satisfied with my decision. When the question comes regularly before your Lordships, it will be discussed much more fully and ably than I can do it: but there are two or three subjects on which I am anxious to touch: one is, that you place the Church of England in a situation in which no other church in the world is placed: the Roman Catholic will not allow the Church of England or Parliament to interfere with his Church, and yet he requires you to allow him to interfere with your Church, and to legislate for it. There is another subject, still more delicate, on which I cannot, however, help saying a few words. I speak (I beg to be understood) only as an individual: I desire not to be understood as speaking for any body else: but consider, my Lords, the situation in which you place the Sovereign. BY THE CORONATION OATH, THE SOVEREIGN IS BOUND TO MAINTAIN THE CHURCH ESTABLISHED, IN HER DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, AND RIGHTS INVIOLE. AN ACT OF PARLIA-

MENT MAY RELEASE FUTURE SOVEREIGNS, AND OTHER MEN FROM THIS OATH, OR FROM ANY OTHER OATH TO BE TAKEN ; BUT CAN IT RELEASE AN INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS ALREADY TAKEN IT ? I speak, I repeat it again, as an individual ; but I entreat the House to consider the situation in which the Sovereign is thus placed. I feel very strongly on this whole subject : I cannot forget the deep interest which was taken upon it by one now no more : and the long and unhappy illness in which —[Here his Royal Highness was sensibly affected.] I HAVE BEEN BROUGHT UP FROM MY EARLY YEARS IN THESE PRINCIPLES ; AND FROM THE TIME WHEN I BEGAN TO REASON FOR MYSELF, I HAVE ENTERTAINED THEM FROM CONVICTION ; AND IN EVERY SITUATION IN WHICH I MAY BE PLACED, I WILL MAINTAIN THEM, SO HELP ME GOD !"

THE END.

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